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ABSTRACT

Integrating concepts from family systems theory, attachment theory, and family socialization theory within a systems theory of public opinion and social movements, this paper concentrates on linkages between family socialization and political attitudes, adding the influence of social structure. The paper holds that family systems theory contributes 2 concepts in particular--"dysfunction," maladaptations of families responding to stress arising from normal life events; and "multigenerational transmission process," by which positive and negative elements are transmitted to future generations, especially unresolved emotional conflicts and their role in the formation of political ideology. Noting that the family is a major socialization agent of attitudes toward authority (parents are the first authorities children know), the paper states that this topic was highly popular between 1940-1960, and that the 1950 work, "The Authoritarian Personality" (criticized for its psychoanalytic approach) is still relevant today. The paper suggests that family systems theory demonstrates how authoritarian, punitive, restrictive responses can develop as people pass through normal life stages. The paper also states that new research on family socialization, attachment theory, and authoritarianism has been published, and new scales have been proposed, although problems remain in determining the concepts at the "left" end of the scale and in researchers' being objective about their own political ideology. Future work on the theory will concern the relationship between political attitudes and social movements, especially the primarily leftist student activist movements of the 1960s and the newer right-wing movements. (Contains a theoretical model, 2 tales of data, and 105 references.) (NKA)

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TOWARD A SYSTEMS THEORY OF FAMILY SOCIALIZATION, PUBLIC OPINION, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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The purpose of this paper is to integrate some concepts from family systems theory, attachment theory, and family socialization theory within a systems theory of public opinion and social movements. The paper concentrates on linkages between family socialization and political attitudes, adding the influence of social structure. Family systems theory contributes two concepts in particular. One is "dysfunction," maladaptations of families in response to stress arising from normal life events. Another is "multigenerational transmission process," by which both positive and negative elements are transmitted to future generations, with special attention given to the transmission of unresolved emotional conflicts and the role these conflicts can take in the formation of political ideology.

The family is a major socialization agent of attitudes toward authority because parents are the first authorities children know. This topic was highly popular in the 1940s through the 1960s. The 1950 work, The Authoritarian Personality, is still relevant today. It has been criticized for its psychoanalytic approach, its F (fascism) Scale, and focusing on "abnormal" or "aberrant" behavior. Family systems theory, however, demonstrates how authoritarian, punitive, harsh, restrictive reponses can develop as people pass through normal life stages. New research on family socialization, attachment theory, and authoritarianism has been published, and new scales have been proposed. Problems remain in determining the concepts at the "left" end of the scale and in researchers' being objective about their own political ideology. Future work on the theory will concern the relationship between political attitudes and social movements, especially the primarily leftist student activist movements of the 1960s and the newer right-wing movements.

TOWARD A SYSTEMS THEORY OF FAMILY SOCIALIZATION, PUBLIC OPINION, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The purpose of this paper is to introduce some ideas from family systems theory, attachment theory, and family socialization theory which can be integrated within a systems theory of public opinion and social movements.[1] The theory model is in Figure 1.

Since development of such a theory is a large task, this paper will concentrate on the portion concerning the relationship of family systems to individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. In addition to the family, organized groups, mass media, and other institutions and entities influence attitudes and related characteristics, serving as catalysts to action under certain circumstances. Other variables, such as location in the social structure, play a role, too. Future work on the theory will concern the relationship between political attitudes and social movements, especially the primarily leftist student activist movements of the 1960s and the right-wing movements of the 1990s.

FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY CONCEPTS

Murray Bowen, a psychiatrist and the earliest architect of family systems theory, pioneered a program which required mothers and their schizophrenic children to live in an inpatient unit for long periods, so that he could observe their relationships. The resulting therapeutic process shifted Bowen's thinking from an individual psychotherapy model to a larger family emotional system model. He incorporated a number of interlocking concepts into a fledgling family systems theory with roots in the psychoanalytic work of Freud (Bowen, 1966, 1976a; Kerr,

[1] A system is a set of interrelated parts (Boguslaw, 1965). It can be of any size from a microscopic cell to a universe.

1981). All of Bowen's original concepts are applicable to a systems theory of public opinion and collective behavior, but two concepts are especially useful. They are family "dysfunction" and "multigenerational transmission process" (Kerr, 1981; Bowen, 1966; also see Toman, 1961).

Dysfunction refers to maladaptive mechanisms which some families develop to cope with increased stress (Kerr, 1981). If stress is too great or prolonged, or if the family system reserves are too depleted, maladaptive mechanisms and symptoms can develop. Frequently, these are exaggerations and distortions of the mechanisms which previously helped to maintain equilibrium. For example, within families, alcoholism and schizophrenia are often adaptations to some emotionally charged situation, which have become exaggerated and eventually impede equilibrium (Kerr, 1981).

Families encounter "transition points," producing such stresses and requiring structural changes to continue healthy functioning. Many transition stages are "normal and expected developmental crises or challenges that occur within our culture," such as marriage, birth, death, and the movement of children through schooling, adolescence, and departure from the home (Becvar & Becvar, 1993). Others include serious illness of a family member, divorce, adding or subtracting a household member, job loss, and so forth. Families proceed through these stages without clear guidance in many cases; they "are organisms in a continuous process of changing while trying to remain the same" (Minuchin, 1984:72). At each stress encountered, families have the potential to change in functional or dysfunctional ways (Minuchin, 1974, 1984).

Evidence suggests that family dysfunction is unequally distributed in society, with the largest distributions occurring at the bottom socioeconomic rungs of society. This occurs because social conditions and environments at

lower levels help to create and maintain dysfunctions and because some types of dysfunctional individuals and families (for example, the mentally ill) tend to move downward in social hierarchies.

The other main concept, multigenerational transmission process, is explained by Kerr (1981:248) as:

> "the ebb and flow of emotional process through the generations. The concept expands the perception of the nuclear family as an emotional unit to the perception of the *multigenerational family as an emotional unit.* To think in these multigenerational terms is to be able to see serious physical, emotional or social dysfunction in this generation as an end product of an emotional problem that had been growing in the family for many generations." [Emphasis added]

The intergenerational expression of unresolved emotions such as grief or anger can be traced back as many as eight or more generations. The emotional devastation of the Great Depression, the Civil War, and even more distant conflicts and upheavals in people's lives may be reflected in today's families. Many persons subconsciously carry the unresolved emotional burdens of their ancestors in addition to their own pain, and they may express their feelings in destructive ways (Miller, 1981, 1984, 1990). Until people experience their own pain consciously, they cannot see the pain of others.

Unresolved grief and rage, the products of family stresses, may be especially powerful in families with rigid responses and poorly developed coping mechanisms. Stress intensifies affect. Individuals tend to repeat their "issues," or unresolved conflicts, until they progress toward emotional health, although some choose to remain stuck in dysfunctional responses (Kerr, 1981; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1980; Guerin & Guerin, 1976:93). Children from families with a legacy of pain may be at greater risk for abuse and neglect, while transferring these behavior patterns to another generation. They may also be likely to acquire hostile attitudes toward outgroups, and some may be

attracted to certain kinds of social movements which permit venting their anger at "safe" targets.

One characteristic of families with dysfunctional or abusive relationships, which tends to reinforce negative affect is being "shame-based," In which shame acts as an organizing principle in concert with rigid, perfectionistic demands on members. Shame "refers to humiliation so painful, embarrassment so deep, and a sense of being so completely diminished that one feels he or she will disappear into a pile of ashes" (Fossom & Mason, 1986:xii). Guilt means making a mistake; whereas, shame means a feeling of being a mistake.

Dysfunctional behavior can be magnified and inflicted on others, sometimes on a grand scale as Adolph Hitler did (Miller, 1990); yet, it can also be transformed into a greater good, such as a beautiful painting, a stirring book, or a humanitarian action. The conditions under which these outcomes happen remain to be clarified.

A systems theory of family socialization, public opinion, and social movements, based on these concepts, would focus on the distribution of dysfunctions in families within a community or a society. It would demonstrate how family dynamics can play significant roles in the development of social movements and social change, for good or for ill. These concepts are particularly relevant today with the appearance of right-wing citizen militias, survivalists, and extremist Christian groups in the 1980s and 1990s in the U.S. Juxtaposed with their leftist counterparts, the protesters of the 1960s, these phenomena raise questions about what kinds of people tend to be aroused to action by such movements and what factors tend to foster right-wing movements versus left-wing movements.

FAMILIES AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Many scholars view the family as a major socialization agent of political attitudes, including attitudes toward authority. Not all agree on the importance of the family relative to other socialization influences. According to Eckhardt (1991), attitudes toward authority were studied as early as the 1920s, including "militarism" (Porter, 1926; Thurstone, 1928) and "conservatism" (Lentz, 1929, 1930, 1935). Reich (1930, 1932, cited in Samelson, 1993) saw the link between authoritarian attitudes and prejudice, and Horkeimer (1936) examined authority and families (cited by Hopf, 1993). Harold Lasswell (1930/1960) investigated the association between political beliefs and unresolved issues and emotions deriving from families of origin, based partly on Freud's work (1930/1961). Milburn, Conrad, Sala, and Carberry (1995:448) highlighted Lasswell's conclusion that ". . . primitive psychological structures continue to function within the personality long after the epochs of infancy and childhood have been chronologically left behind. The prominence of hate in politics suggests that we may find the most important private motive is a repressed and powerful hatred of authority" (1930/1960:448).

Few research efforts have inspired more scholarly efforts and provoked more debate on the role of the family in creating political attitudes than the classic, *The Authoritarian Personality*, frequently referred to by initials, *TAP* (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). The primary thesis of *TAP* is that the first authorities children know, their parents or other caregivers, form the basis for children's conscious and subconscious attitudes toward all societal authority structures.

The spectacular rise of the Nazi party in Germany during World War II and the accompanying Holocaust stoked social scientists' interests in authoritarian

personalities and their relationship to anti-Semitic attitudes especially, as well as to racial attitudes later. Authoritarians are characterized by rigid, repressed, conformist, dogmatic, superstitious, stereotyped attitudes, submission to higher authorities, lack of empathy for others, displacement of aggressive attitudes onto weaker groups such as minority races and ethnic groups and homosexuals, and strongly developed defenses against anxiety (Stone, Lederer, & Christie, 1993). According to Stone, et al. (1993:4):

> Authoritarians develop this personality, which has its basis in inborn drives that are socially unacceptable, notably sexual and aggressive ones. When the restraints against expression of these impulses are unusually harsh, the individual becomes anxious, insecure, and unusually attuned to external authority sources for behavioral guidance. Thus, harsh, punitive, and vindictive parents and rigid social codes help to shape the authoritarian syndrome.

Interest in the authoritarian personality peaked in the 1950s and 1960s (see: Christie & Cook, 1958; Kirscht & Dillehay, 1967), but other political research concerns superseded it after that, not because the authoritarian personality was an obsolete theory but because social scientists were attracted to other subjects (Stone, et al., 1993; Duckitt, 1989; Eckhardt, 1991; Altemeyer, 1988). Activities of the new right-wing groups reawakened interest in *TAP*.[2]

Researchers adopted different approaches to the construct. *TAP* sparked critiques of its methods, conceptualizations, and generalizability (e.g., Christie & Jahoda, 1954). Histories and critiques of *TAP* are reviewed by Stone, et al. (1993). Discussions of competing theories include Stone and Schaffner (1988), Sniderman (1975), de Sola Pool (1973), and McGuire (1973). Eckhardt (1991) delineates a number of concepts related to authoritarianism, including

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[2]The Bosnian troops fighting in the former Yugoslavia today may be similar to the German Nazis, who inspired early research on the "authoritarian personality."

militarism, conservatism, dogmatism, and enthnocentrism. Sociologists such as Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) and Selznick and Steinberg (1969) would replace psychological explanations with sociological ones stressing societal and cultural factors. (Psychological and sociological explanations, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and they can be complementary.)

PRESENT STATUS OF AUTHORITARIANISM RESEARCH

Stone, et al. (1993) devoted an edited book, *Strength and Weakness: the Authoritarian Personality Today* to a comprehensive assessment of the theory. Renewed attention to this area is especially evident in the journal, *Political Psychology* (e.g., Milburn, et al., 1995; Eckhardt, 1991; and Duckitt, 1989).

One of the biggest problems in authoritarian personality theory is lack of a scale with sufficient reliability and validity to capture the intricacies of the concept. The authoritarian personality is a "complex syndrome" of personality types (Sniderman, 1975). The F-scale (F for fascist), the best known measure of authoritarianism, has some methodological flaws and may not apply well across time, culture, and geography (Adorno, et al., 1950; Samelson, 1993; Altemeyer, 1988; Duckitt, 1992).

Among recent alternative scales is the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO) of Sidanius and colleagues (e.g., Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), derived from "Hierarchy-Legitimizing Myths" which can be acquired from many kinds of social institutions. Altemeyer (1981, 1988, 1994) devised a right-wing authoritarianism scale. He rejects the psychoanalytic underpinning of *TAP* in favor of Bandura's (1973) social learning theory. Altemeyer and Sidanius consider their constructs to be benign and "normal" as opposed to a perceived irrational and aberrant basis of *TAP*. Altemeyer's work is dependent upon college student samples, and his conclusions often are based on only a handful of

individuals. His view of people is largely undifferentiated by social class, race, sex, age, geographic location, or cultural context. Sidanius and his colleagues surveyed college students but also tested their ideas on general population samples, reporting according to social characteristics.

A major concern for authoritarian personality theory is the concepts anchoring one end of the scale, about which debate has swirled for almost five decades. Few disagree that one end of the scale measures extreme conservatism, right-wing, fascist, prejudiced attitudes (see especially Meloen, 1993; also Pratto, et al., 1993; Altemeyer, 1988; Duckitt, 1992; Eckhardt, 1991). The opposite end of the scale is the source of scholarly conflict. Many see the left side as being democratic, humanistic, unprejudiced, or otherwise benign, but others argue for an authoritarian of the left (Stone, et al., 1993; Duckitt, 1992; Altemeyer, 1988). Apparently, Adorno, et al., saw communism as a non-authoritarian opposing anchor; they did not develop this portion of their theory well since only fascist and pre-fascist attitudes were their interest (Eckhardt, 1991).

Among those seeking to fill this conceptual void were Eysenck's (1954) scale of toughmindedness-tendermindedness (also see Eysenck & Coulter, 1972; Eysenck & Wilson, 1978), Rokeach's (1960) dimensions of openmindedness and closedmindedness, or dogmatism; and Erikson's (1963) opposing tensions of judiciousness and prejudice, although he did not propose a specific scale. Lipset (1960) differentiated political left from economic left (Eckhardt, 1991).

Whether or not there is an authoritarian left is a major unresolved issue (Stone & Smith, 1993; Stone & Schaffner, 1988; Altemeyer, 1988; Eckhardt, 1991). According to Shils (1954), authoritarians stand at both ends of the scale and the tolerant or democratic personalities are in between. To add to the complexities

of the issue, Shils also discerned mixtures of the alternative concepts; he perceived fascist tendencies of Communist governments and leftist tendencies of Fascist governments. Eysenck's toughmindedness scale placed authoritarians on either end, and Rokeach's conception was similar (Duckitt, 1992). Tomkins's Polarity Theory (1963) and analyses by Brown (1965) and Ray (1983) corroborated the idea of an authoritarian left, but Stone (1980), Christie (1955, 1956a, 1956b), and Barker (1963), among others, questioned the evidence for an authoritarian of the left. Nevertheless, Stone and Schaffner discussed left-wing and right-wing parenting, principally in terms of Tomkins' (1965) polarity theory. Right-wing or normative parenting emphasizes control, morality, rules; left-wing or humanistic parenting stresses love, gentleness, and respect. (This description raises questions about value-free social science conceptualization, as will be discussed below.)

The issue of what occupies the "left" scale end is not dead, since historical data underscore the authoritarian, repressive, punitive nature of the leadership, if not the citizens, of Communist countries. Social scientists have never accounted for this adequately. The notion of an authoritarian left and an authoritarian right appears to make sense. Stone and Smith (1993), caution however, that three problems need to be addressed in future research: 1) are the rates of authoritarianism similar on the left and the right, 2) are comparisons equivalent across a number of cases or regimes with the appropriate controls, and are levels of analysis shifted across comparisons? Stone and Smith stated that examples of left-wing authoritarianism tend to be casually gathered, anecdotal, and on the level of a regime or society. On the other hand, right-wing examples tend to be psychological, more systematically gathered, and on the level of individuals or groups. General populations in Communist or formerly Communist

nations have been little studied (for one example, see McFarland, Ageyev, & Abalakina, 1993).

Finally, anecdotal evidence, mainly in mass media and mainly concerning student radicals of the 1960's, suggests that extreme authoritarians can switch poles on the scale. It may be easier for a rigid leftist to become a rigid rightist than to become a center-leaning leftist (congruent with Hoffer's "true believer," 1951). One example is Lyndon LaRouche, who initially was a member of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party but now embraces neo-Nazi ideology (Stone & Schaffner, 1988:99). Altemeyer (1988:258-259) stated: "And so the real issue has been 'Does the same kind of *personality* become a Communist *or* a Fascist, or both (like Mussolini), but not a 'democrat'?" Further, is part of the key to choice of views a bifurcated view of authority? Do authoritarians (or do most people) perceive a "good" authority to reside in one place, such as one's own government, and a "bad" authority to be elsewhere, perhaps in some particular group or in some other nation's government? Clearly, this topic should be studied more thoroughly and more systematically.[3]

A related unresolved and seldom discussed problem is that researchers cannot probe the emotions of their subjects successfully until they have examined their own. It is unlikely that many have done so. Moreover, taking a highly cognitive theoretical stance allows researchers to avoid emotion-oriented explanations and thus can in itself be a psychological defense mechanism. Social scientists may be more liberal politically than the general population, and they may not realize their own potential biases. Social scientists have been far more concerned with conservative or right-wing attitudes as a social problem; they

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[3] I would welcome information about any persons who moved from one political extreme to the other, such as far right to far left, or vice versa.

seem to have more difficulty conceptualizing liberal or left-wing attitudes. The degree to which earlier researchers were influenced by the political climate of their times is obvious to us today, yet it is extremely difficult for us to see how the present climate of thought biases our work.

Very few have raised these issues in the past. "I think that a liberal bias cannot be denied in many cases, including my own," noted Eckhardt (1991), one of the few social scientists to reveal ideology besides Altemeyer, also a self-described liberal.[4] Eckhardt described some conservatives' criticism of social scientists for lacking objectivity on liberalism, Jewishness, and their own leftist bent (Rothman & Lichter, 1982).

NEW RESEARCH ON FAMILY SOCIALIZATION AND AUTHORITARIANISM

One of the few longitudinal studies of childrearing and political attitudes concluded that children's identification with a political party (ideology was not studied) was usually similar to that of the parents, but some parents were not aware of having political opinions or values to be transmitted to their children (Stone & Schaffner, 1988). More often children acquired their parents' "general orientations" toward political ideas than specific orientations (Stone & Schaffner, 1988). The researchers' theoretical perspective did not allow delving more deeply into the mechanisms by which political attitudes are transmitted.

Duckitt (1992) reviewed a large number of the early authoritarianism and child-rearing studies, and found support for both sides of the debate. Altemeyer (1988) constructed three retrospective scales to test the idea of parental contributions to authoritarianism in children, a Parental Anger Scale covering "youthful misdeeds," a Parental Punishment Scale concerning punishment for the

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[4] I would describe my own views as moderately liberal.

misdeeds, and a Parental Interest Scale to measure closeness of parent-child bonds. On the whole, children remembered their parents' words and actions as angrier, more punitive, and less interested than did their parents. Altemeyer's scales, however, have only superficial ability to measure parental abuse or harshness. His instruments do not include measures of physical, sexual, and verbal abuse, verbal shaming, or emotional abandonment. "Spanking" and "scolding" are the most serious responses his scales allow. He assumes that parents will respond truthfully to emotionally charged topics and that students will answer truthfully about deep-seated feelings and truly bad childhoods. His theory assumes people can give straightforward, "rational" explanations of their attitudes and that attitudes derive from highly cognitive processes. Further, his scales cover only child behaviors which would arouse potentially justifiable parental anger; the scales disregard the possibility of hair-trigger, out-of-control parental ire which a child's behavior could trigger innocently. The world he writes about bears little resemblance to the reports of others who have taken a more serious look at consequences of harsh parenting (Miller, 1981, 1984, 1990; Hopf, 1993; Milburn, et al., 1995). Social learning theory does not probe too deeply into the psyche, and therefore, misses certain kinds of cause. Furthermore, the parents and the children in Altemeyer's reports are recollecting from different power perspectives (Hopf, 1993).

Milburn, et al. (1995:447) had Altemeyer's work in mind when they wrote: "Studies failing to demonstrate a relationship between childhood experience and adult political attitudes have neglected to take into account two important interacting variables, gender and therapy..." Their questionnaire survey of college students and telephone survey of the general population confirmed their hypothesis that males with high punishment childhood experiences were

significantly more conservative than were either low punishment males or high punishment males who had had therapy (formal psychotherapy or experience with a twelve-step program). Their evidence suggested that high punishment liberals were more likely to seek therapy than were high punishment conservatives.

Milburn, et al., expected gender differences in childrearing and posited that girls are reared to be empathic, passive, compliant, and not to express anger, and boys are reared to have traits opposite of these. Milburn, et al., found high punishment females to be more liberal than low punishment females, significantly so in the student sample but not in the general population sample, although results were in the predicted direction. These findings held even when age, education, and parents' education were controlled.

Researchers such as Hopf (1993) and Milburn, et al. (1995) do not perceive the image of *TAP* to be mired in psychopathology. Much research supports the basic assumptions and conclusions of *TAP*, although some rethinking of theory and methods is needed in light of modern knowledge. Family systems theory demonstrates how normal human events can lead to non-productive or destructive behavior within a dysfunctional family system. Other socialization sources exist, of course, such as educational institutions, religious institutions, mass media, organized group participation, personal contacts, and occupational structures. The theory proposed in this paper, however, assumes the family is the most fundamental element.

That *TAP* theory has weaknesses in itself does not invalidate the psychoanalytic approach (Hopf, 1993). Criticisms which apply to psychoanalytic theory of more than forty years ago, do not take note of recent progress in this area. Social scientists often assume that evolution is progressive; yet, that is not always true. A 1995 theory is not necessarily better than one developed in

1965 or even 1945. In addition, standardized procedures and scales do not speak usually to the issue of measuring early childhood experiences and tend not to be appropriate mechanisms for studying "developmental processes and family dynamics" (Hopf, 1993, p. 121). She recommends psychoanalytic approaches for exploring early childhood experiences.[5]

Among those establishing a connection between harshness of parental discipline and later aggressive behavior of the child are Weiss, Dodge, Bates, and Pettit (1992). Children's aggressive behavior and hostile attitudes were linked in the work of Quiggle, Garber, Panak, and Dodge (1992). Milburn, et al. (1995) cited these studies and the work of Alice Miller as evidence supporting the authoritarian personality theory of relationship between negative affect and harsh parental discipline. Miller's writings (1981, 1984, 1990) emphasize that denial of past painful childhood experiences erects a wall separating people from their feelings and memories. She shows that children who are hurtfully treated will respond normally to this trauma by feeling pain and anger. Children from punitive, harsh environments often are not allowed to express any emotion about their treatment and thus are isolated in their pain (1984). Usually, they have little or no choice about repressing their feelings and their memory of the painful incidents. They must idealize their parents to maintain their denial. The memories will emerge again only under "safe" conditions, such as psychotherapy in adulthood; often, they never are consciously felt again. The feelings of rage, despair, helplessness, and pain become disconnected from the original incidents and can be directed against other targets, including

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[5]A scale to measure good and bad childhood memories in survey research was developed by O'Leary (1988). It has been correlated with scores on anxiety and depression of first-time parents of both sexes and with connection to community and to friendship and kinship networks (O'Leary & Gaziano, 1995).

themselves.

> If these people become parents, they will then often direct acts of revenge for their mistreatment in childhood against their own children, whom they use as scapegoats. Child abuse is still sanctioned -- indeed, held in high regard -- in our society as long as it is defined as child-rearing. It is a tragic fact that parents beat their children in order to escape the emotions stemming from how they were treated by their own parents. (p. 283)

> For some years now, it has been possible to prove, through new therapeutic methods, that repressed traumatic experiences of childhood are stored up in the body and, though unconscious, exert an influence even in adulthood. (p. 284)

Emotionally charged childhood memories are likely to be recalled more accurately than less salient memories, according to Bandura and Walters (1959) and Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall, cited in Milburn, et al. (1995). These authors did not discuss repressed memory problems which can occur when neither parent is perceived by the child to be safe (e.g., see Fredrickson, 1992). Milburn, et al. (1995) pointed to a nationally representative study of 3,346 American children of which almost two-thirds had experienced parental aggression ranging from destructive remarks to emotional abandonment to physically hitting or slamming an object (Vissing, Straus, Gelles, & Harrop, 1991). In a survey of parents, more than two-thirds of whom admitted slapping or spanking their offspring (Gelles, 1987).

The early model of authoritarian families depicted a stern, remote father and a submissive, morally restrictive, martyr-like mother, whose approach to discipline was highly rule-oriented as compared with perceiving the needs of the child (Hopf, 1993). The ability of parents to respond appropriately to their children's needs was lacking as a perspective until more recently (Ainsworth, et al., 1978; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986; cited in Hopf, 1993). Baumrind's (1967, 1980) work on authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive modes of child rearing can be crosstabulated with parental behavior concepts of "control" versus

"acceptance," according to Maccoby and Martin (1983) to produce a typology of parenting patterns with respect to the two dimensions being discussed (Hopf, 1993:126). Their model is shown in Table 1.

Hopf pointed also to Frenkel-Brunswik's report of "important accompanying emotional difficulties" in authoritarians' families. Parental affection is bestowed on the condition of good behavior in the child, and the threat of rejection is always present. Children in non-authoritarian families tend to be more emotionally secure. Authoritarians are inclined to give material things, and non-authoritarians tend to give love and affection. Authoritarians' views of their parents are more likely to be stereotyped and idealized. They can give fewer concrete details of the memories than can the non-authoritarians.

Early authoritarian research ignored the role of mothers. Hopf emphasized that about one-third of one early sample of authoritarian men had mothers who died when the men were children or in early adolescence. The difficulty of such a loss for children and young people and its continuing effect far into adulthood was not acknowledged by the *TAP* researchers. (Hopf's comments reveal that early researchers were usually unaware of their own biases and the influence of their own childhoods in obscuring or illuminating their findings. For this kind of research, ideally, scholars would first spend a great deal of time researching their own psyches.)

Research on anti-Semitic New Yorkers who underwent psychoanalysis contributed to a fuller picture in the work of Ackerman and Jahoda (1950). Rejection by one or both parents was a major component of their childhood memories. Among this group, fathers tended to be weak and masochistic, and mothers tended to be aggressive and dominant. Frequent themes in the self-images of the subjects were insecurity, paranoia, and self-rejection -- "basically, they

reject themselves and envy others," reported Ackerman and Jahoda (p. 55). Punitiveness and rejection by either parent contributes to development of an authoritarian personality. Hopf stressed the distinction of Ackerman and Jahoda that authoritarians do not necessarily develop anti-Semitic beliefs but are susceptible to attitudes against any culturally and socially sanctioned discrimination against outgroups. The ways in which other influences such as mass media, schools, or cultural environment play a role in the socialization process are often conditioned by early childhood experiences. Insecurity in relationships to parents who are punitive and overly strict leads to deep-seated insecurity in the child's self-image and a tendency toward self-rejection. These feelings are denied, repressed, and displaced onto outgroups in society (Hopf, 1993). Displaced hostility gives relief from tensions but only for short periods of time.

While the research of Ackerman and Jahoda (1950) made useful theoretical contributions, their subjects differed from the traditional authoritarians because they sought psychoanalytic treatment, as the researchers themselves made clear. The classic authoritarian would project his or her negatively charged feelings onto some outgroup or else would attack a family member physically or verbally instead of seeking psychological counseling, although some of these things may have been going on to some degree among Ackerman's and Jahoda's subjects.

In directing renewed attention to the importance of family socialization in forming attitudes, values, and prejudices, Hopf stressed the usefulness of attachment theory to understanding this process (i.e., Bowlby, 1969, 1973; Bretherton, 1985; Sroufe, 1983; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986, 1988). Hopf used a classification scheme (Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth, et al., 1978) which

differentiates among 1) children with secure attachments to their primary caregiver, 2) insecure ambivalent attachments, and 3) insecure avoidant attachments. The mother's responsiveness to the child's behavior and signals is a central determinant of secure attachments. Rejecting mothers tend to have children with insecure avoidant attachments, and mothers who give mixed signals are associated with insecure ambivalent attachments in their children. Mothers of children with secure attachments tend to be consistent and positive in their communication with their children. Children with insecure attachments show many of the same characteristics which define the authoritarian personality, such as low self-esteem, reduced capacity for empathy, and a tendency to be in peer relationships which emphasize dominance-subordination patterns (Sroufe, 1983; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986, 1988; Main & Weston, 1982; Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth, et al., 1978). Moreover, mothers of children with insecure avoidant attachments often recalled rejection by their own mothers during their childhoods (Main & Goldwyn, 1984). These women had trouble recalling their childhoods, and they tended to idealize their mothers without giving concrete examples to support the idealized memory.

Hopf (1993) argued for longitudinal or retrospective biographic psychoanalytically-oriented studies rather than surveys, to uncover the complexities in the relevant relationships and variables. She stated (p. 141):

> As a prerequisite, however, the childhood experiences must not be recorded in a standardized form, but rather in a manner that promotes unconstrained narration, reflection, and the conveyance of vivid descriptions of childhood memories. In this way, contradictions, inconsistencies in the relation between general and specific statements, and massive gaps in memory can emerge.

Hopf called for more research attention to mother-child relationships, in addition to past emphasis on father-child relationships. Family systems

theorists would emphasize study also of the mother-father relationship, as a critical component in the family system. Frequently, a child's problems are really an expression of larger difficulties with the parents' relationship, and the child presents symptoms because it is "safer" in the family system to have problems in the child than in the parents' relationship (Becvar & Beckvar, 1993; Guerin & Guerin, 1976).

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND AUTHORITARIANISM

Education tends to have a negative relationship with authoritarianism, whether defined as tolerance (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995), prejudice (Duckitt, 1992), fascism (Stone, et al., 1993), dogmatism (Lipset, 1960), social dominance orientation (Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1995), or authoritarianism per se (Adorno, et al., 1950; Lipset, 1960). Pratto, et al., however, cited some contrary evidence.

Formal schooling may have a liberalizing effect on authoritarian attitudes because of increased cognitive development, sophistication, and abstract thinking; increased opportunity to meet people of varied backgrounds; augmented political expertise and understanding of the importance of democratic principles; and improved self-esteem (Stone, et al., 1993; Altemeyer, 1988; Marcus, et al., 1995; Sniderman, 1975). These characteristics are related to exposure to information and receptiveness to new ideas, and to decreased defensiveness, powerlessness, and alienation (Sniderman, 1975). Therefore, authoritarianism is a trait relevant to knowledge gap literature. The knowledge gap hypothesis posits that increased information flow in a social system often leads to increased differentials between the "haves" and the "have-nots" (Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1970; Gaziano, 1995a; Gaziano & Gaziano, 1996; Viswanath & Finnegan, 1996). Seldom do knowledge gap studies use concepts related to

authoritarianism. Simmons and Garda (1982) did such a study and reported higher dogmatism, more prevalent among the less educated, was related to public affairs knowledge gaps in Brazil.

The relationship of education to authoritarianism is complex and depends on other factors, such as type of education, culture, and other contexts. A liberal arts or social science education may decrease authoritarianism levels more than some other courses of study (Altemeyer, 1988; Stone, et al., 1993). According to Duckitt (1992:255), "Authoritarian approaches to education -- such as Christian National Education in South Africa and the approach that Inbar, Resh, and Adler (1984) termed conservative achievement-oriented education in the Israeli context -- do not seem to reduce prejudice, whereas more liberal or progressive approaches to education do." Education was correlated more with racial prejudice among English speakers than among Afrikaans speakers in South Africa, apparently because Afrikaans speakers are more widely exposed to authoritarian education structures, decreasing the variability due to education (Duckitt, 1992).

Other indicators of authoritarianism, the concepts of "liberal" and "conservative," present some conceptual problems, especially in connection with social class differences. "First, many less-educated people do not think of themselves in these terms, and further, there is conflicting testimony about the coherence of liberal or conservative ideas in the minds of many members of the voting public in the United States," caution Stone and Schaffner (1988:79-80).

While "tolerance" indicates another facet of authoritarianism and is correlated with education, higher education is not always linked to higher tolerance for outgroups in society (Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, 1982/1993). The more educated tend to be more intolerant of right-wing groups, and the less educated tend to be more prejudiced against left-wing groups in the U.S. This

pattern held as well in Israel but not in New Zealand, which showed little difference (Sullivan, Shamir, Walsh, & Roberts, 1985). Subjective social class had the opposite relationship in the U.S. The higher the subjective social class, the greater the support for right-wing groups (Sullivan, et al., 1982/1993). Why this occurred was not totally clear. It may argue for dividing socioeconomic groups into smaller segments for analysis; inter-group differences may be masked by being lumped together (Gaziano, 1995b).

Altemeyer (1988) noted a tendency over a twelve-year period among former students at the University of Manitoba to become less authoritarian on items regarding different social groups and some attitudes toward submission to authorities. Some graduates became more authoritarian, however. Parenthood was the explanation, although reasons why are unclear. One possibility is that the birth of children triggered previously repressed negative childhood feelings. Much evidence supports this idea, for example, that clinical depression associated with unhappy childhood memories can be triggered by the birth of children (Zuckerman, Bauchner, Parker, & Cabral, 1990; Unterman, Posner, & Williams, 1990; Green, 1994; O'Leary, 1988; O'Leary & Gaziano, 1995). Both men and women can experience depression associated with the birth of a child (Ferketich & Mercer, 1995; Ballard, Davis, Cullen, Mohan, & Dean, 1994; Harvey & McGrath, 1988). It is not unusual for both parents to be depressed (Ballard, et al., 1994; Harvey & McGrath, 1988; O'Leary & Gaziano, 1995).

Although the rank and file Nazi followers were relatively poorly educated, Nazi leaders were intelligent and well-educated, so that some other variables than amount of schooling must explain the involvement of the leadership (Eckhardt, 1991). These other variables could include family histories and childrearing practices.

Childrearing styles, being related to indicators of authoritarianism, also may be related to location in the social structure. Childrearing practices also are fostered by cultural norms, which vary within the U.S. while remaining fairly stable over several hundred years, even after transplantation to the New World (Fischer, 1989). These childrearing and cultural patterns, derived from four main British cultural traditions, exist despite the movement of non-British groups into all parts of the U.S. One evidence of their strength is their influence to the present day on Presidential voting patterns. Fischer's book would lead us to expect greatest authoritarianism in the South.

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

This paper combines psychoanalytical concepts within a social systems and family systems framework, looking at the distribution of authoritarian-related attitudes and family dysfunctions in society. In order to gather information which can be suited best to analysis of child socialization as a process, Hopf (1993:142) recommended work in a psychoanalytic mode on "narcissistic problems in the behavior of authoritarians," more intensive study of parental responsiveness and rejection, greater attention to the mother's role in addition to the father's role, and scrutiny of defense mechanisms employed by authoritarian personalities.

If survey research approaches are adopted, the patterns of relationships discussed in this paper suggest a segmentation scheme, such as discriminant analysis, to study relationships further. Education groups may divide according to the influence of other variables. Perhaps, for example, one might find two better educated groups and three less educated groups, all of which might be well differentiated. Main variables could include childrearing patterns, education, age, sex, religion, social and political values, political attitudes, public affairs knowledge, childhood memories, structure of family of origin, present

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marital status, community size and structure, urban-rural residence, and connectedness to community, relatives, and friends.

The expectation is that authoritarian attitudes will be related to family dysfunctions, and that both will be connected to the location of families in the social structure. Special attention would be paid to conditions under which more extreme attitudes develop. Of particular interest in future theory development are authoritarians with extreme leftist views and those with extreme rightist views, contrasted by education as an indicator of social class to form a six-celled table (Table 2). The groups most predisposed to respond to social movements are predicted to be the more educated and those with the most extreme attitudes. A long-term study might allow understanding of those persons who switch allegiances from extreme left to extreme right, or vice versa, and the conditions under which that happens. Research approaches should be both quantitative and qualitative.

Unprocessed emotions can come down through the ages with a powerful force. Individuals from closed family systems can experience inability to move on through life roles, emotional shutdowns, depression and other mental illness, or even suicide. Individuals from open family systems can take on more constructive approaches and behaviors. The kinds of trauma and dysfunction depicted in *The Authoritarian Personality* often occur as families undergo normal events and changes, which are stressful (Minuchin, 1984; Kerr, 1981; Becvar & Becvar, 1993). Dysfunctions can be widespread, especially in families with more closed emotional systems. They can have painful and even tragic consequences for individuals and families as their unresolved issues play out against a backdrop of the larger processes of public opinion and social movements.

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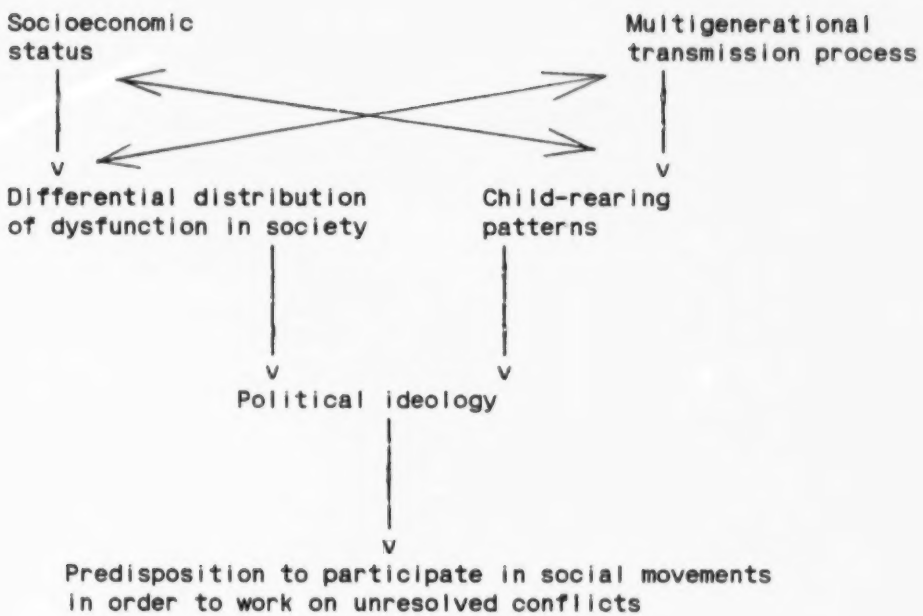
Socioeconomic status
Multigenerational transmission process
Differential distribution of dysfunction in society
Child-rearing patterns
Political ideology
Predisposition to participate in social movements in order to work on unresolved conflicts

Figure 1. Model of the main elements of the theory of family socialization, public opinion, and social movements.

Table 1. A two-dimensional classification of parenting patterns.

	Accepting, responsive child-centered	Rejecting, unresponsive, parent-centered
Demanding, controlling	Authoritative-reciprocal, high in bidirectional communication	Authoritarian, power assertive
Undemanding, low in control attempts	Indulgent	Neglecting, ignoring indifferent, uninvolved

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Table 2. Propensity to participate in social movements by political ideology and education.

	POLITICAL IDEOLOGY		
	Low/none	Moderate	Extreme
EDUCATION			
Low	Lowest potential to participate in social movements	Low potential	Moderate potential
Medium	Low potential	Modest potential	High potential
High	Low potential	Modest potential	Most potential